2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with WAX; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, macréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXIV.

RELIGION—REVOLTING FUNERAL RITES.

Some of the savage hordes of South America are cannibals. They feast upon their enemies with great pomp and ceremony, even rearing from infancy the offspring of the enemy in order that he may become, when full grown, the material for a grand, human barbecue. These cannibal banquets are "the religion, pride and joy of the Brazilian savage * * * the triumph of the captor, and an expiatory sacrifice to the spirits of their brethren who have been slain." A few tribes have, in times of famine, devoured their own aged and helpless ones; while in still other tribes, the children have eaten their aged parents, believing that in consuming and assimilating their bodies they honor them and perpetuate their existence—a crude form of the doctrine of transmigration of spirits. Other tribes, again, cut off the heads of their enemies, and embalm them by filling them with hot sand, and shrinking them until they are about the size of a grapefruit, preserving perfectly the form and features. Large sums of money have been paid by collectors for these ghastly trophies, which has doubtless inspired the head hunters with greater zeal. Some tribes are notorious for the revolting practice of abortion, which is brutally effected by jumping on the abdomen of the victim.

Religion, "the conception of the infinite," as Max Müller defines it,—the fixed belief that a world of spirits exists, which, though encompassing men in the flesh and pervading natural objects, yet is hidden from human eyes—occupies a supreme

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elaborate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placation of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers, is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarers* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina kimégâre irnducâre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.